177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 613 619 621 177 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 613 177 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 778 177 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 439 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[1] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[2] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

177 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River Reservation; a few families have been permitted
●171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada;[6] but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4] Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5] Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6] E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

were many songs connected with this practice, but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[32] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[33]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

The following birds were identified by J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´l·ts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´n·ts; from towo´´o, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku´uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[32] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[33] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

yton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 61a]

343 old baskets with the hands. The baskets were carried or dragged out by helping men and boys. Women sometimes helped at this, but the service was regarded as somewhat of a joke by all concerned. The excavated earth was heaped in one place for later use in covering the structure. The interior diameter of an average sweat house was about 15 to 20 feet. The shape was somewhat elliptical if it were a large house with two center posts, circular if smaller and with but a single center post. Not more than two center posts were ever used in this region; vertical side walls were not known.[148] The center posts, placed 6 to 8 feet apart and extending above ground some 4 or 5 feet, were forked and supported a center beam. These posts were usually of oak. The roofing poles, preferably of alder, were some 4 to 6 inches in diameter and of a length sufficient to project 6 inches beyond the center beam and 1 foot beyond the excavated side wall. The bark was not removed. The poles were laid as close together as possible, alternate poles from opposing sides projecting on the center beam. Toward each end of the beam the grounded ends of the poles were spread out slightly. The ends of the house were covered by poles laid into the fork, other poles were laid over these and the grounded ends fanned out to form rounded ends (basically the same structure as the two-post oval dwelling). The bunched upper ends were tied with coarse rope (ho'o). Over this foundation roof was laid a similar but more haphazard arrangement of slender alder or willow poles which filled in the interstices.

A doorway was left by spreading the poles at one end. (Informants disagreed on the position of the door of the two-post house, whether on the side or end.) Three parallel posts were set upright, inside at the bottom, but projecting outside, on either side of the opening left between the roof poles. Upon these uprights were set two crosspieces: one lay flat, the other outward one rested above it. Together they formed an angled brace against which the butts of short roof poles rested. There was no closure for the doorway.

The roof was now ready to be covered with a layer of brush and long grass upon which the excavated earth was spread.

The doorway was about 3 feet high, the interior of the house slightly less than a man's height. In a two-post house 20 feet in diameter, sixteen men could sit comfortably. The fire was always directly opposite and just within the doorway: heat within forced the smoke to push through the low door while the fire itself prevented too great a draft from entering. The firewood was placed in two piles,

[148] Ibid., 596, pl. 60, shows a southern Californian sweat house identical with the Yokuts type of side construction. The exterior of the small Yokuts sweat house probably resembled that of the Koso (cf. ibid., 590, pl. 56).

343 The ramada or shade, čɛ́ ´niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 251 Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of [621] provisions, more acorns would be bought from someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

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[157] An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158] The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin
[202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

Women's dress.--Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the
281 cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned
[681] until first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut,
291 dried, and pounded as for string, was used by
286 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162]Handbook, 519.

[163]Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 435 237 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as needed. [534] The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Kill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 98).

223 237 The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 773 Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts ṭo ʻhɨl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi ʻtɛs), and grey eagle (ṭohɨl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 [136] J.P. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi ʻta pŏ ʻdta ma ṭupɨ ʻnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi ʻpɨni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

[281] The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

411 237 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, djibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 [824] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, [224] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

411 322 The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern [171] California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] P. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, c.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.C.

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the
252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and
262 put in a basket to boil. They were later drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pːn) or
222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihːt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´'išŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mːtski´ša (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hːč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tːk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´šta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171]

[188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

272 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve
262 basket over a large watertight coiled basket and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

313 The load of wood was held on the back by
482 means of a tumpline. This passed over the upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

[190] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. [437] Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Cheinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[195] [171] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.); the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu'yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

[280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 783 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those [285 171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. [301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The [465 431] washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 613] During the washing and dressing at least two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, [237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 [262] Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were
[552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

616 Redemption of totem animals.--When an
825 eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people
237 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´pːt, the paternal grand-
[231] father of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko hːp (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Cipːt received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-
[301] killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yːl) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.---The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

343 515 517 The usual sweat house held ten to twelve men sitting or lying close together. Very old and very young men did not use it. Some men slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand [524] game was played inside and often men amused themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an example of songs men sang in the sweat house, [533] C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.---The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All informants stated that the frame poles were [184] bunched together at the top (the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent), "so water couldn't come through."[101] About four horizontal withes [171]

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.L.K.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered.
The contents remained dry all winter. To get
at the acorns a little hole was poked at the
bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
● [171] or basket. This type of granary was used here
(Chukchansi) and at Awa'ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

285 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o'yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna-- mentation (toward upper right, second from top); [272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
358 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[824 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle
284] was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower (carex?).

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" (redbud?).

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283 Cordage and nets.---Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts
286 were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.---Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under
[136] them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.---The digging stick (ǯ'opu[1]) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukshumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252 [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

411 Weapons.---Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110]Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111]Ibid., 528.

[112]Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 887 [574] Old people made a practice of eating tobacco and lime frequently. They would gather at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

[787] [177] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

[764]

276 N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its
323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it
324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba''om, the pipe Nokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink
278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being
● 171 similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, 753 especially at night, for they said they could 775 see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness 302 indicating the intensity of grief, said N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[126]Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

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769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

769 293 Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers witnessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

> "But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were made and carried at mourning ceremonies in aboriginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

[171]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

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[134] Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135] Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136] Powers, 388.

[137] Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138] Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[293] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were [171] played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Anwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

524 The informant M.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as [177] of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. M.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[140]Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

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This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

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There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska.

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives.

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre.

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion

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765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets,

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CHAPTER 34.

THE YOKUTS: CULTS.

000 The Jimson weed initiation, 502; the rattlesnake ceremony, 504; other ceremonies, 506; ceremonial paraphernalia, 508; prayers, 509; mythology, 510; shamanism, 511; Mana, 512; source of the shaman's power, 513; disease and cure, 515; bear shamans, 516; rattlesnake shamans, 517; weather shamans, 518.

THE JIMSON WEED INITIATION.

881 276 Next to the great mourning ceremony of the Yokuts is to be ranked a boy's initiation, which centered around the narcotic, and therefore supernatural, effects of a drug pervading the roots of the Jimson weed, *Datura meteloides*, commonly known in California by its Mexican name, toloache.[1] The Yokuts called the plant *tanai* and the rite *tanyuwish*, which might be translated as "Jimson weeding."

The initiation was into manhood and tribal status, rather than to membership in any organization. It was therefore in a sense a boy's puberty ceremony, which was given a distinctive character by intoxication. The same type of ritual prevailed among all the Shoshoneans, and perhaps the Chumash, of southern California. Its occurrence among the Yokuts is only one of several instances of customs shared by them with the groups to the south.

● 171 To the west there are reports that the Salinan villages followed the cult, although it is unfortunately not wholly certain that they possessed the custom before the missionaries introduced Yokuts among them. To the north the Miwok did not drink Jimson weed: in fact, it probably grows little in their habitat. The northernmost Yokuts hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi, practiced the rite feebly, if at all, and the Chauchila are said to have refrained from it altogether. On the other hand, the Miwok declare that their Yokuts neighbors of the plains of Stanislaus River had a Jimson weed ceremony. The cult may have gone farther north than this, to the extreme tribes of the lowest San Joaquin, since the plant occurs as far north as Stock-

[1] W. E. Safford, Daturas of the Old World and New, Smithsonian Report for 1920, 537–567, 1922, gives the following Daturas: *D. meteloides*, Mexico, Utah, California, used by the Zuñi, Walapai, Luiseño, Yokuts; Aztec name, *coatlxoxuhqui*, "green snake weed," *ololiuhqui*, its seed. *D. discolor*, closely allied to *D. meteloides*, Mexico and southwestern U. S.; *toloache*; more common at Yuma than *D. meteloides* (and therefore probably the species employed by the Yuma and Mohave). *D. inoxia*, Mexico; Aztec name, *necuxcul* and *toloatzin*. *D. stramonium*, Jamestown weed, Mexico and eastern U. S.; Aztec name *tlapatl*.

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ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate.

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk.

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened.

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray.

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sen" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshoosh:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out.

[171]

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions.

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The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshoosh*. Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowish* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

[171]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel.

The *Heshoosh* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

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The *He'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic-

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535 tureseque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[301] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

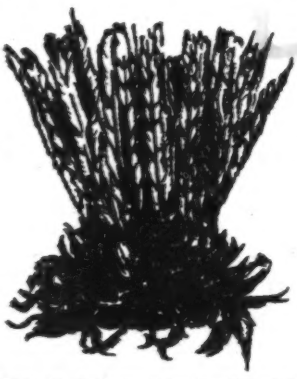

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual
301 central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachum*
237 and the *nefanat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

[177] The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread

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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent.

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On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following:

[782
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Do you see me!
See me, Tūlshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

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The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

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with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

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114 226 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 171 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor environment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern [224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

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as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadwush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

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411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity 285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not 531 found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the 171 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however, 285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the 171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

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285 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity
● 171 is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the
285 southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only
[482] with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing
[53] horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women em-
[525] ployed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form
[177] of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

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283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle
352 or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is
285 loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is carried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western [71] Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

[71] The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

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by a stick loop, and in often lacking the point of the fork. (Pl. 40, *n*, *o*.) None of the Yokuts cradles, clearly, is made for hanging, except perhaps by a strap. The Maidu cradle may be described as a combination of the Yokuts first and second types; among the latter people no such combination or transitional type has been found.

The southern California cradle, so far as known, has a ladderlike foundation of a few short sticks on two long ones. The two long rods are, however, joined at the top instead of at the bottom: that is, there is a loop at the top instead of a fork below. The hood is also a separate hoop of wickerwork. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The cradle of northeastern California, northwestern California, and the Pomo region is, in spite of much local variation, uniformly of a different order. It is of basketry, not of sticks; it is hollow instead of flat; and a rounded bottom is an integral part of the structure, while the hood is clearly a subsidiary feature. This northern cradle is built essentially for sitting (Pl. 35); that of central and southern California only for lying.

FIG. 48.—Cradle types of central and southern California. *a*, Diegueño, Mohave; *b*, *c*, Maidu; *d*, Yokuts, Kitanemuk; *e*, northern Miwok; *f*, Yokuts, Miwok, western Mono; *g*, eastern Mono. (Cf. Pls. 39, 40.)

The stiff cradles of central and southern California may be schematized as in Figure 48, *a–e* being types with a wooden frame, *f–g* basketry forms. It will be seen that there is a complete transition from *a* to *d*: *b* differs superficially from *c* only in lacking the point of the latter. Structurally, however, the gap in the series comes between these two, *b* being only *a* with the ends of the frame rod joined, whereas *c* is *d*, namely, a natural fork at the bottom, with an added hoop. That form and consequent use may be of more importance than structural plan, so far as connections go, appears from the fact that *b* and *c* are the winter and summer types of the same people, the Maidu.

Even the stick and the basketry types shade into each other: *b* and *c*, whose transverse rods are close and slender, need only the substitution of a few courses of twining for their underlying hoop or fork frame to become *g*.

In Miwok basketry pieces of type *f*, like Plate 39, *e*, the strengthening hoop seems secondary, but may be a vestige of a former wooden foundation.

The hood is primarily associated with the basketry cradle, but again there are exceptions on both sides that make transitions. *B* and *d* are always hoodless, so far as known, and the hood of *a* is

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854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f* 352 is found without a hood as well as with it.
285 Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, dif-
171 fering only in its pliability.

An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression
854 of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel
352 diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the
285 Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several
531 have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*). Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

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also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

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323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the [174] pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi 171 and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katauwish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

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ing of a picture or shaping of a figure was foreign to the native mind. Even conventionalized symbols were lacking, for conventionalization is a standardization of some artistic impulse, and this impulse never manifested itself. The stiff figures of men and animals that occasionally appear on baskets are invariably due to American influence, among the Yokuts as well as among all other Californian groups. One can not have become imbued with a feeling for the decorative value of California basketry without resenting these childish introductions as fatal to the inherent aesthetic qualities of the work. Our tastes have been infinitely more cultivated than those of the native Californian; but in the few directions, or one direction, in which he had made an incipient progress in ornamentation, his habits had poise and restraint. 517

The ungraphic, unplastic, and unsymbolic character of native Californian civilization is complete to a degree that is almost inconceivable. It is only rarely that an Indian can be induced to draw in the sand the most schematic sketch of the rivers or mountains of his habitat. In southern California there are indeed some faint stirrings in the sand paintings, but only under a strong ritualistic motive; and the poverty and rudeness of these, compared with their Navaho and Pueblo prototypes, reveal the aridity of the artistic soil which this southwestern religio-aesthetic influence encountered in its invasion of California.

In all the remainder of the State even this trace is wanting. For once the deep cleavage between the northwest and the central south is effaced. The Yurok and Hupa culture may be a North Pacific coast civilization in nine-tenths of its essential impulses and goals; in representative art it is as Californian as that of the Maidu or Yokuts. 517 171

How far some beginnings of literary form have evolved in Yokuts traditions, in comparison with those of their neighbors, it would be difficult to state. The languages, the emotions, and the pleasures of the natives are everywhere known with too little intimacy for a judgment to be of value. Myths have been recorded primarily with reference to their episodic content, their religious associations, or their systematic coherence. Such as are available from the Yokuts evince a lower literary pitch, a less intensity of presentation, than those of northern and southern California at their best. But we do not know how far they are artistically representative; and what has already been said about the animal pantheon of these people suffices to reveal that the real merits of their folklore lie implicit in a background or setting of which the skeletonized translations that are available give to us but rudimentary hints. 517 538

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517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 765 Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

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the larger valleys, though they were the first to crumble at the touch of the Caucasian, elaborated a more complex culture than the hill tribes; and the Yokuts were a lowland people in a greater measure than any other stock in California.

But it is also evident that wherever the soil of history is really penetrated in California a rich variety of growths is found. If a little mountain group like the Yuki, placed between more highly civilized nations, has been able to evolve feature after feature of cultural distinctness, there is every reason to believe that the same would prove to be true of nearly all the California tribes, if only we really knew them; and a large, compact, and prosperous block of people like the Yokuts would be exceptional only in having carried the development of their originality somewhat farther than the majority.

It so happens that in the long stretch of land between the Maidu and the Luiseño no tribe has yet been exhaustively studied with any array of information. It is therefore inevitable that the present account of the Yokuts, the first rendered in any detail, scattered as that is, should reveal many novelties. But there is nothing to encourage the belief that if the Miwok, the Tübatulabal, the Serrano, or the Salinans had happened to be chosen, there would have been any notably less quantity of interesting peculiarities revealed; not to mention that for the Pomo and Chumash, little known as they are, we have every indication of a civilizational richness greater, if anything, than that evinced by the Yokuts.

In other words, the exact understanding of the Indian history of California still lies before us. Some foundations may have been laid for it in the present work. The outlines were sketched for all time 40 years ago by the masterly hand of Stephen Powers. But the real structure will be a gift of the future; and its materials can only be assembled by investigations far more intensive, as well as continuous, than those yet undertaken.

3625°—25——35

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 131 619 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to four other large groups which once occupied almost half of what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 131 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok* (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life [171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 tions of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up. The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims, *yet'-ni* (equivalent to one-y), or *wi-atak*, or *kimai-eh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song chant."

GUESSING GAMES

Almost the only vice possessed by present-day Indians which was not brought to them by the white man is that of gambling. We are assured from many sources that the Indians, almost without exception, were inveterate gamblers. A game might continue for days and nights and at the end of this time an Indian might have gambled away all of the food and clothing he possessed, and, possibly, as is maintained by some authorities, even his family.

One of the most characteristic Indian gambling games is the guessing game. This type of game is the most common [171] of all primitive games. Various forms of the guessing game are reported from the Aleutian Islands to Cape Horn. There is probably less variation between them than there is between most other games. The Yokuts game was sometimes played by a group of as many as eight, composing two sets of four partners each. The opponents sat facing each other, with a blanket on the ground between them. The main object of the game was to guess in which hand the opponent held a marked stick, or a piece of bone or shell. However simple this game may seem, we are assured by persons who have played it, that one uninitiated to its many possibilities, could not win one time out of ten. Surely, if this is true, the Yokuts Indians were able to realize to a remarkable degree the possibilities of a comparatively simple contest.

During the game a constant sing-song was kept up by any or all present. The two sticks, or dice, one black and one white, or one marked and one unmarked, were shuffled from one hand to another, or were placed behind the back, and then the two hands were brought to the front. After considerable manipulating, the opponents were allowed to guess in which hand the blackened, or marked stick, was held.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 517 It is a statement of bare fact to record that the baskets made by the Yokuts Indian women are the very finest known to have been made by machine or by hand by any people of any race in the history of the world. The Pomo Indians of Lake [171] County made a basket covered with colored feathers, and probably made more kinds of baskets, but they were no finer in workmanship than those made by the Yokuts on Kings, Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers, and probably, in prewhite days, throughout the San Joaquin. Not only are the stitches in some baskets as fine as sixty to the inch, but color combination, texture, shape and design are completely fascinating and present some of the finest conventionalized designs known to the art world.

285 531 A Yokuts Indian woman of primeval days, seated on a deerskin or tule mat under a spreading valley oak, would have been as little expected to turn out a beautiful work of art as any known primitive person. One is both privileged and amazed who has seen them at work amongst the litter of an Indian camp. Their persons and clothing were often ragged and soiled, their homes and furniture were of the most meager, primitive kind. There was little in the immediate surroundings to suggest anything used in designing a Yokuts basket.

But the Yokuts woman saw far beyond her camp. Without a drawing or pattern of any kind she placed upon her basket the most pleasing and delightful representations of mountains, birds, butterflies, deer, quail, streams, lightning and the heroes of her tribal myths and stories. This was all done, remember, [412] with a crude chipped-stone knife and a bone awl, not another tool of any kind.

Beginning at the bottom of a curved, flaring basket, the Yokuts woman placed the first colored stitches of a design, complicated and involved beyond the imagination and memory of most white persons. She carried this design through to completion without a pattern or drawing.

One must also appreciate that for pictorial purposes stitched basketry has the limitations of the mosaic, the cross-stitch, or the loop used in hooking rugs. It was not possible to reproduce most objects in their true shape and form. They were conventionalized. A triangle could represent a deer's track, an arrow point, or a flame. A realistic reproduction of a quail topknot stood for quail: the shape that the inch-worm assumed in traveling represented it. Butterfly was sometimes represented by a wavy line suggestive of its flight. Four small

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kil*. It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, resembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel.

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we*. It is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. *We'-che* means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry.

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood.

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila*. However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit*, Wukchumne, *Kaweah*, *Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "l" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne*, *Chunut*, *Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip*. The Wukchumne call this *chadip*. They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik*, name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

Y W [412]

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbich Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wükchumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking water, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wükchumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.[6]

Y W [285]

The Patwisha and Wükchumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.[7] A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

Y W 176 184 323

The second point of difference was in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

[6] Tsi'in na ki'wic nim hi'am si'ci, doctoring I pot my now done.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 59d, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extricated by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97b.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102*e*) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98*b*) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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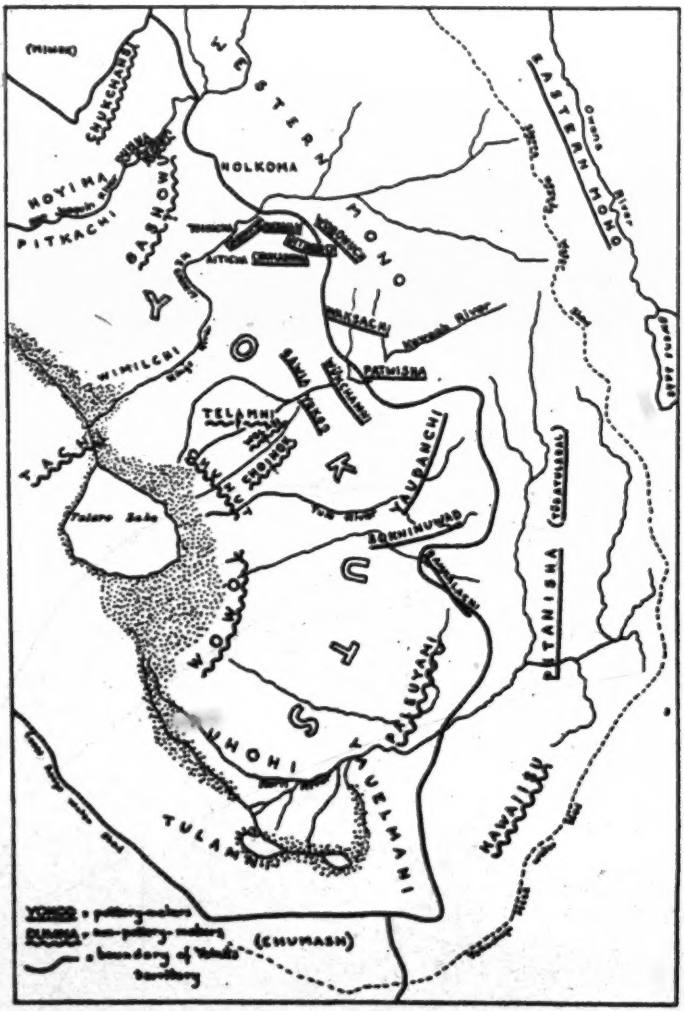

Fig. 2. Distribution of pottery-making in San Joaquin valley.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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only recently heard of the art through contact with northern foothill Yokuts.[12] East of the Sierras the Eastern Mono practiced pottery-making of the same type as that practiced by their western relatives, according to Mr. J. H. Steward.[13] The continuity of the distribution of pottery-making from the foothill Yokuts through the Western Mono to Eastern Mono tribes leaves little doubt that the California art was derived from or at least genetically related to the great Southwestern pottery area.

[12] Field notes.
[13] Field notes.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxtaposition of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:353–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):389–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–486, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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MINOR OFFICIALS

624 The winatum has been frequently mentioned in the previous pages and his duties incidentally described. The activities of this official were all important in the execution of the chief's instructions and the organization of tribal functions. He was an essential unit in the social machinery. There seems to have been no variation in his duties or position among any of the Yokuts or Western Mono tribes. While [554] the duties falling to a winatum might, from our point of view, put him in the class of a servant, such was not the case. The office carried with it a certain prestige; informants of a winatum's lineage, as Sam Osborn or Mary Pohot, speak proudly of their parents' status just as do those of chiefly lineage. Though winatums were always paid for their services "they did not work to make money," and are never spoken of as rich men, as are chiefs and shamans. Whenever a winatum arrived at a house on an errand he had to be paid a small sum, usually the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents, unless he had come from a distance. A chief paid his own winatum for every service rendered, as well as those who came to him bearing news from another tribe or village. The paying of winatums was not standardized: the chief or any other person making use of a winatum gave him what both considered a fair amount according to the employer's financial status.

624 The position of subchief and his functions are of an indefinite sort. Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono of Kings river had this official; ● 171 Yokuts of the plains and upper San Joaquin river apparently did not. Among the Yokuts the subchief was called tuye'i. The Western Mono had no special name for this office which was filled by the real chief's brothers. The Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y) tuye'i was described as follows:[43]

> The tuye'i was a kind of second chief. The position went in families, and both sexes were called tuye'i just as all in the chief's family were called tia'a. There were usually four to six tuye'i in a tribe. When a mourning ceremony was to be held, and the chief was arranging financial affairs so as to cover the expenses, the subchiefs put up enough money to cover any deficit that might occur. Subchiefs who were about fifteen years of age or over contributed. If the chief were away or unable to attend to his part in a ceremony, the tuye'i took his place: they were the first to start eating at meals, made his speech, and also any decisions

[43] Informant, Sam Garfield.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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that were called for. On the evening of the fifth day of the annual mourning ceremony the subchiefs gave a supper to the chief. Money, baskets, and blankets which had previously been given them by the chief were returned to him at this time.

A Yaudanchi informant said:

"The tuye'i helped the tia'a at the mourning ceremony. If the tia'a put up five dollars the tuye'i put up three. If the tia'a had no money these men had to put up the rest."[46]

The Wobonuch (WM) regarded the brothers of an active chief as sub- or secondary chiefs. They had no special term for these men, whose functions were as among the Yokuts.

Both Chunut and Tachi informants denied the existence of this official in their tribe or vicinity.[47]

Some tribes had an official who took charge of the camp and ritual organization at large fandangos. He is called in English the "dance manager"; he was a kind of master of ceremonies. The Yokuts called this man the yate'ite. The Kechayi (Y) had the official and describe him as follows:[48]

The yate'ite was a kind of winatum. He talked for the tiya and he worked at arranging meals. He made all announcements for the chief and often acted as a go-between, between the chief and his people. The chief often talked to people in person or in public but he seldom made announcements to a large gathering unless his yate'ite were away. The position was inherited from the father's side but could be of either moiety. The Kechayi yate'ite, Koteon, was of the Nutawic moiety, whereas the Poagisa yate'ite, E'ukiyi, was Tokeluwic. At fandangos or parties the yate'ite "prayed" before each meal. He said, "Come close to this food. We are going to have a good feast. When supper is over we will play and have a good time."

On the Wukchumni (Y) dance manager we have the following:[49]

This man was not called winatum. He was hired for a big fandango by the chief. The position was hereditary; it always had raven for totem. The man's duty was to keep order in camp and affairs running smoothly: he called to the people to get up in the morning, went out to meet new arrivals and told them where to camp, informed the chief of their arrival; he told people to be quiet, stopped children who were playing too noisily, or women who were quarreling or "getting mad over their cooking."

The dance manager among the Wobonuch (Y) had no special name but was called natinab (winatum), just as were the official servants of chiefs and shamans.

[46] Tom Wilcox; see Appendix.
[47] Josie Alonzo and Mollie Garcia, respectively.
[48] Ellen Murphy; see Appendix.
[49] Joe Pobot.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[80]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[80] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 92, 93, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the rattlesnake (*tc'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *hai'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *hai'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's chawa. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

LEXICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

The principal characteristic of the vocabulary of the Yokuts dialects is the great number of totally distinct stems used in different dialects for the same word. This feature is the more pronounced on account of the comparatively great uniformity of words when their stems do not change, and especially on account of the marked structural similarity pervading all divisions of the family. The diversity of dialects as regards stems becomes particularly apparent when, after having the conditions of Yokuts in mind, one turns for comparison to the larger families of the continent, as for instance Shoshonean. This family, adjoining the Yokuts on the east, has an immensely greater territorial extent, reaching from Wyoming to Southern California and from Oregon to Texas. Its dialectic groups are well marked; but as one turns the pages of a comparative vocabulary, he is impressed by the almost endless variability, time and again, of the same stem, with a persistence, however, of this stem through all or nearly all the dialects. In Yokuts the stems vary much less, and in fact are often identical; but instead, new radicals constantly appear as one passes from one dialectic group to another.

It is probable that a similar comparative phonetic uniformity but radical diversity characterizes many of the linguistic families of California, especially those in the large Central morphological group. This feature has been exaggerated by writers who have received impressions of the native languages by coming more or less in contact with the Indians without systematically collecting linguistic material; but, allowing for the necessary modification on this account, these impressions are nevertheless correct. Study shows conditions entirely similar to those of Yokuts to exist in Yuki, Pomo, and Costanoan. Dr. Dixon's recent study of the Shasta and Achomawi, as a result of which he has united these two groups into a single family, deals primarily with lexical similarities, but gives negative evidence of the great radical diversity that must exist in this now unified family. The miscellaneous published Maidu and Wintun vocabularies show quite clearly that the same conditions exist at least to a considerable degree in

8:Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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these two stocks; precisely to what extent, remains to be seen. All these languages, with the exception in a measure of the Shasta-Achomawi, are phonetically very simple and clear. In none of them do radical syllables appear to contain two consecutive consonants; in all full, simple, and naturally produced sounds predominate greatly over impure, unusual, or phonetically idiomatic ones. In all there is very little phonetic modification, especially of consonants, upon contact of stems in composition or derivation. Even the vowels undergo little change in this way except for some phonetic harmony in Maidu and Yokuts. It is evident that with this quality of phonetic simplicity fundamentally impressed upon the consciousness or rather unconsciousness of these languages, extensive and complicated phonetic variations such as characterize Indo-European and some of the larger American families, cannot so well occur between dialects.

While the comparatively slight diversification of dialects through alterations in them of the same radicals, is thus causally directly connected with the phonetic character of the Central Californian languages—slight as compared with the total degree of differentiation of dialects,—the origin of the corresponding opposite characteristic of great radical diversity is less easily explained even in a general way. It is probable that this radical differentiation is due largely to the general tendencies which have resulted in the diversification of the languages of California into so many families or apparent families, so far as this diversification may have arisen within California and not be due to successive immigrations of already distinct stocks. But what those diversifying tendencies are is not yet known. All that can at present be conjectured is that they are connected, as they are co-existent with, the tendencies toward phonetic and structural simplicity that are so deeply impressed upon almost all the Central Californian languages.

Borrowing of words from other families will account for the radical diversities between dialects only to a slight extent. It is becoming evident that there has been more or less borrowing between almost all the families of the Central Californian group. In a few cases the number of stems held in common by two or more stocks is in fact so large as to raise the question whether it

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words derived from diverse stems is greatest in nouns denoting persons and in adjectives, in both of which classes the percentage of uniform stems is nothing.

	Identical Items		*Different Stems*	*Percentage of total formed by identical stems*
	in all groups	*in all so far as known*		
Numerals	9	—	1	90
Nouns				
Persons	—	—	13	0
Parts of the Body	11	5	31	32
Artificial Objects	4	1	12	29
Natural Objects	6	3	20	24
Mammals	2	3	18	22
Birds and other Animals	3	16	20	40
Adjectives	—	—	9	0
Adverbs and Interrogatives	5	1	6	50
Verbs	3	1	11	27
Total	43	30	150	33

These proportions are of general interest in three points. First, in the comparatively small number of uniform verbal stems, showing that verb stems in this language are not more primary, original, or less subject to change than noun stems. Second, in the fact that the uniformity of stems in words denoting parts of the body is not materially greater than among nouns of other meaning, which is contrary to the usual supposition, which is no doubt often correct, that terms denoting parts of the body are less subject to alteration in dialectic differentiation than are other classes of substantives. Third, in the great uniformity existing among the numerals. This uniformity among numerals is indeed paralleled by the conditions existing in many languages, but is exceptional for California.[1]

The principal words found which go back to a single stem in all the Yokuts dialects are the following: The numerals from one to eight, ten, ear, eye, nose, mouth, eyelid, tooth, beard,

[1] In Costanoan and Yuki the numerals vary enormously in different dialects, and in Pomo, Chumash, and other families there are also great variations of a radical nature. Many of these variations are due to the compolite nature of the numerals above three, and occur most frequently in languages whose numeral system is quinary or quaternary. The decimal system of Yokuts, like most decimal systems, is less transparent as to origin. It is however noteworthy that those of the Yokuts numerals that are clearly derivative, such as four and five, show as great a uniformity in the various dialects as those that go back directly to a simple radical.

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the social organization of the Indians of South Central California. The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions.

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada.

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the

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San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

The principal facts concerning social organization among the tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

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with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker.

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses.

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci.

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name.

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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.

171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

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Doubtless other tribes will prove to have a similar division of the chieftainship.

An organization, which will perhaps prove to be on a moiety basis, is reported by Dr. J. Alden Mason among the Salinan Indians of Monterey County. A bear and a deer "totem" are mentioned.[1] Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the chief animal of the land moiety, the deer of the water moiety. It seems quite probable that a continuation of Dr. Mason's investigations among the Salinan will show that the bear and deer "totems" really stand for moieties, which may prove to be similar to those of the Tachi Yokuts, who were the closest neighbors of the Salinan on the east.

Mr. J. P. Harrington for some time past has been investigating the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region. The details of Chumash social organization will perhaps prove to be quite similar to those of the Yokuts tribes, mentioned in the present paper, who lived to the northeast of the Chumash region.

The next task is to extend the survey to the Washo and the Southern Maidu in the north and, if results among these stocks warrant it, also to the Southern Wintun. The examination of the Lake Miwok will perhaps prove instructive as to the origin of the moiety institution among the Sierra Miwok. The remnants of the Plains Miwok and of the Costanoan stock have so far yielded no positive results as to a clan or moiety organization. There are still other informants to be examined, however. In the south the Mono living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada south of the San Joaquin River have yet to be visited, as have also the other Yokuts tribes not already mentioned. Information obtained from the Tachi Yokuts indicates that at least the following Yokuts tribes inhabiting the San Joaquin Valley probably had an organization akin to that of the Tachi: Chunut, Nutunutu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The elucidation of the relations between the type of social organization found in South Central California and the type of organization found among the Luiseño, the Mohave, and the Pima, all tribes possessing clans, is one of the ultimate aims of

[1] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Eth., x, 189, 1912.

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the survey. Another equally important matter, to be clearly established, is the interrelations within the South Central California area itself. Although it is still too early to make a positive statement, yet it seems that the Miwok organization, judging from its simpler character, as compared with the Tachi, lies on the periphery of the moiety area, not only geographically, but also in point of complexity. A consideration of the North Fork Mono complex conveys a similar impression. The absence of exogamy and the presence of a kinship system totally unlike that of the other groups having a dual organization seem to warrant the conclusion that the ceremonial features of the Yokuts and Miwok moieties have been borrowed, while the two social features, exogamy and kinship system, have not. It is therefore not unlikely that, in South Central California, the dichotomous social organization was primarily a valley institution, which spread to the mountains.

Transmitted January 29, 1916.

533 Therefore the compression occurs after the third repeat of the first phrase, after the second repeat of the second phrase, and so on.

533 462 Almost all the songs were sung by both males and females with no apparent difference or "parts" such as found on the northwest California coast. One of the exceptions to this statement is the single work song recorded -- the Acorn Grinding Song. This song was sung only by the women, who did the acorn grinding, while the males did not, or pretended not, to know it. It is true that the males knew more songs than the women; no reason was given why the women could not sing them if they wanted to. The one example of harmony, which occurs in the Sopas Song, is certainly accidental.

533 The tempos ranged from andantino to vivace, from 63 beats to 138 beats per minute, with the bulk of the songs falling at the latter end of the scale. In some of the songs there was considerable rhythmic variation. This was for two reasons: the first was that some of the songs, like the Deer Song mentioned above, were supposed to be sung without a fixed beat. The second reason for variation stemmed from the fact that individual singers, when singing alone, could and would vary rhythm and melody much more than when the group sang together. The combination of the group's clapsticks and singing would carry the song to its conclusion with a minimum of discontinuity.

The spread of the melodic contour was rarely over eight or ten semitones, with the largest group falling between six and seven semitones. This is in contrast with the northwest California coast, where an octave and one-half are extremely common, especially in the Brush Dance and White Deerskin Dance Songs. This again contrasts with the limited spread which is found among [171] the Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, and other north central and northeastern groups. Among these groups melodic spreads of three or four semitones are not uncommon, and there is one grass game song, recorded by Dr. Kroeber, characterized by a two semi-tone spread.

The scale was predominantly pentatonic, although the limited spread of some of the songs made it difficult to evaluate. Some, but not all, of the songs showed a definable rise. The rise in Yachi music can best be described as a low-pitch low-contrast section alternating with a rise of a fourth or a fifth and a descending lyrical passage back to the low-pitch low-contrast section. The Tawanic or Morning Song shows a rise beginning in the 5th measure, and again in the 18th. The Lizard Handgame Song #4 begins with a rise.

Another feature of the songs was the sparseness of lyrics. Most of the songs averaged no more than two or three phrases totaling 10-12 syllables. Common repetition patterns for lines were:

1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2; 1,1,1,2,2,2,1,1,2,2,3,1,1;

and so forth. The repetition of the Lizard Handgame Song showed some variation:

1,1,1,1,2,1,1,1,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,1,2.

[177] songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.
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Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas [171] the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the [196] ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. [171] This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [82] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.

16:Gayton & Newman L-5 (1930-1931)1940
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[p. 1-A]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in complete translation. It is slightly longer than the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

171 538

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TYPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS [p. 1-B]

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

●171 5538 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock covering of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and incident.[2] The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TYPE MYTH

5539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[126] [2]Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

[p.7-A]

195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
538 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
[193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

[p.8-B]

195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6] Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremo-
[796] nials such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

[p.10-A]

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, [262] 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to [171] the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." [784] The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same [574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent [563] Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ţanyiţit).[12]

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[10] Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11] The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12] The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[A 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
● 171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting O. H. Thayer).

[15] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p.11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE[13] IS ON p.11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

[p.14-A]

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538 upon Falcon. Falcon's popularity is unquestionably strongest among the Yokuts and Western Mono, yet he is a person of some consequence in Pomo, Miwok, Salinan, and Western Mono myths, wherein his rôle is often at least daring if not undefeatedly heroic. It must be acknowledged that
[184] the tales of Falcon emanate from people of hill or mountain country. How far he was popular with Yokuts of the plains, lakes, and sloughs (Tachi, Telamni, Chunut, Wowol) is a question, for the mythology recorded from these groups is hopelessly incomplete. With these people it is possible that Coyote or some other held a more elevated status.

Typical of Yokuts and also shared wholly or in part by Western Mono, Tübatulabal, Miwok, and Pomo are these tales: Growing Rock, Pleiades and Taurus, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister, Father), Deserted Children, Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Coyote Steal's Cougar's Child, and Pursuit of a Dead Wife. The notion that Thunder is a pair of twin boys (rather than a thunderbird), and is in some way associated with dogs, is held by these tribal groups, though it is not always embodied in a tale.

A true Coyote trickster cycle seems to be lacking among Yokuts, Western Mono, and Miwok, although for the Yokuts both Newman's and Latta's collections have augmented the meager group of Coyote stories. If to the Yokuts, as to us, these tales seem more humorous than consequential, it may be that neither Kroeber nor I probed deep enough to get them. However, they do not bulk large in recorded collections from Northfork Mono, Miwok, and Salinan, and their comparative absence from the Central California area may be real.

Also absent is the widespread tale of Bear and Deer.

Yokuts and Tübatulabal have Mikiti Kills Bear, their local and far-fetched variant of Old Woman's Grandson. Falcon frequently is substituted for Mikiti; and so unique is it in Yokuts mythology to have a named character, that I suspect the name Mikiti to be some variant or diminutive of limik (falcon), although in this contention Newman cannot offer support with any positive linguistic evidence.

Yauelmani Yokuts myths, as exemplified by Newman's collection, are closely related to those of the Tübatulabal. This is expectable. But whether their rather Shoshonean quality (as manifested in such specific details as rock-encased condor, anus adviser, rolling skull) is aboriginal or the result of later reservation contacts cannot be established. The Shoshonean tinge in Yauelmani tales is slightly more than would be expectable from intertribal relationship of the two linguistic stocks in olden times, yet so little is known of aboriginal culture and conditions in the southern San Joaquin Valley that what would be expectable is largely conjecture.

[p.14-B]

171 538 773 The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun-Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[125] [18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

[p.15-A]

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This presentation of Yokuts mythology in relation to that of its neighbors is not intended to give the impression that this mythology in toto is segregated from the rest of California folk tales. It is firmly enmeshed in the fabric of contiguous western mythology by means of common elements and incidents. But in contrast to their neighbors, who toward the north participate more and more in the mythology of the Southern Plateau and Basin, and toward the south

[p. 15-B]

171 in that of the Southern Basin and Yumans, the
538 Yokuts are the focus of a small area with limited
773 affiliations. The contrast is particularly acute when we envisage the sweeping distribution of cognate tales from Plateau, through the Basin, and into the Southwest, which are absent from the Central California mythologic area.

Supporting data for the generalizations present in this section are to be found in the comparative notes with the abstracts.[1]

[1] [THE COMPARATIVE NOTES AND THE ABSTRACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PROCESSED FOR THE FILES — ANALYST]

T 788 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

765 572 Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [78] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y ● 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead